

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8800

INFO/ RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3605

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USNATO BRUSSELS 1178

DIA WASHDC

USIA WASHDC

AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4116

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINR, PORG, RO

SUBJ: WRAP-UP ON RECENT PARTY AND STATE CHANGES

REF: BUCHAREST 3550, BUCHAREST 3673

1. SUMMARY. AFTER APPROXIMATELY ONE AND ONE-HALF YEARS OF STABILITY, CEAUSESCU HAS AGAIN RESORTED TO "CADRE ROTATION" IN ORDER TO REVOLVE LIEUTENANTS, PROMOTE MORE RESPONSIVE PERSONALITIES AND PRESS IMPLEMENTATION OF HIS POLICIES. NONE OF RECENT CHANGES HAVE ALTERED RCP'S PRESENT INNER LEADERSHIP, BUT THEY DO BETRAY AN ANXIETY WITH LAGGARD ROMANIAN ECONOMY, E.G., SHIFT OF FORMER
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DEFENSE MINISTER IONITA PRESUMABLY WILL INTENSIFY MILITARY

INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL ECONOMY. LIKEWISE, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER MIZIL'S CHAIRMANSHIP OF NEW CONSUMER GOODS COUNCIL AND DASCALESU'S ELEVATION TO PARTY SECRETARY FOR AGRICULTURAL CO-OPS REFLECT MORE ATTENTION PAID OF LATE TO THESE SECTORS, ALTHOUGH SO FAR RHETORIC HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES WITH NO APPARENT TANGIBLE BENEFIT TO THE CONSUMER. END SUMMARY.

2. POLEXCO ENLARGEMENT. CC PLENUM (JULY 1) AND GNA (JULY 2) MADE FURTHER ORGANIZATIONAL AND PERSONNEL CHANGES TO COMPLEMENT THOSE ANNOUNCED JUNE 15 (BUCHAREST 3550). GEN ION IONITA, FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER AND NOW A DEPUTY PREMIER, HAS BEEN PROMOTED FROM CANDIDATE TO FULL POLEXCO MEMBERSHIP, WHILE FIVE NEW CANDIDATE MEMBERS HAVE BEEN ADDED - ION COMAN, NEW MINISTER OF DEFENSE (WHO, BY PROTOCOL, GAVE UP HIS COUNCIL OF STATE SLOT TO HIS SUCCESSOR AS COS, ION HORTOPAN); TEODOR COMAN, MINISTER OF INTERIOR; ION DINCA, NEW BUCHAREST MAYOR; LUDOVIC FAZEKAS (NO RELATION TO JANOS), HARGHITA JUDET FIRST SECRETARY; AND STEFAN MOCUTA, CLUJ JUDET FIRST SECRETARY. THIS POLEXCO ENLARGEMENT CLUSTERS TOGETHER MAJOR PARTY AND STATE FIGURES RESPONSIBLE FOR MILITARY-SECURITY AFFAIRS (BOBU, IONITA, AND THE TWO WOMEN WHO, ACCORDING TO ROMANIAN MILITARY LIAISON OFFICE, ARE NOT RELATED), IN PARTY'S HIGHEST BODY FOR FIRST TIME SINCE 1966. SHOWING GOR'S SENSITIVITY TO EMIGRE ATTACKS AGAINST ITS NATIONAL MINORITY POLICY, POLEXCO HUNGARIAN REPRESENTATION IS INCREASED WITH APPOINTMENT OF FAZEKAS AND MOCUTA (WHO, ALTHOUGH A ROMANIAN, PRESIDES OVER TRANSYLVANIA'S HISTORIC AND INTELLECTUAL HUNGARIAN CENTER, CLUJ). DINCA'S ELEVATION TO POLEX CO IS FUNCTION OF HIS NEW BUCHAREST JOB; HE ALSO BECAME A COUNCIL OF STATE MEMBER, A POSITION NOT HELD BY HIS PREDECESSOR. THERE HAS BEEN SPECULATION THAT IN ONCE AGAIN ENLARGING POLEXCO, CEAUSESCU MAY BE LAYING GROUNDWORK FOR NEW DEPARTURES IN FUTURE, FOR INSTANCE PERHAPS OF THE AILING DRAGANESCU AND BANC OR AGING LEONTE RAUTU WHO IS EXPECTED TO RETIRE WHEN NEW RCP PARTY ACADEMY COMPLEX HE HEADS IS DEDICATED IN SEPTEMBER.

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3. SECRETARIAT, CC AND COUNCIL OF STATE CHANGES. IN ADDITION TO PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED APPOINTMENT OF CONSTANTIN DASCALESU TO RCP CC SECRETARY FOR AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES, ANOTHER CC SECRETARIAL POSITION HAS BEEN CREATED FOR AUREL DUMA, FORMER CC SECTION CHIEF AND HEAD OF CHANCERY, ONE OF CEAUSESCU'S CLOSEST DAILY COLLABORATORS. DUMA REPORTEDLY WILL RETAIN BUT EXPAND HIS FORMER RESPONSIBILITIES, IN KEEPING WITH PERSONALIZATION OF CEAUSESCU'S RULE, SOVIET

EMBOFF SPECULATED DUMA MIGHT, FOR EXAMPLE, TAKE OVER PARTY ADMINISTRATION (GODPODARIE) FROM THE HEAVILY-LOADED EMIL BOBU. APPOINTMENT OF NINTH CC SECRETARY MAY ALSO GIVE ROOM FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE SHUFFLING OF SOME RESPONSIBILITIES LINKED TO THE HEART ATTACK SUFFERED EARLER BY SECRETARY FOR ECOMOMIC AFFAIRS IOSIF BANC, MENTIONED BY STEFAN ANDREI TO AMBASSADOR.

4. AT RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE LEVEL, TWO CANDIDATE MEMBERS HAVE BEEN PROMOTED TO FULL MEMBERSHIP AS FUNCTION OF THEIR NEW RESPONSIBILITIES--SUZANA GADEA, NEW MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND ION FLOREA, WHO REPLACED IOSIF BANC AS MURES JUDET FIRST SECRETARY IN MARCH 1975. BACK FROM OBLIVION, GADEA, WHO HAS NOW ALSO RECOVERED GN SEAT LOST IN

MARCH 1975, CAN PRESUMABLY BE COUNTED ON TO IMPLEMENT UNHESITATINGLY ALL ELEMENTS OF CEAUSESCU'S EDUCATION POLICY WHEREAS MIZIL, MUCH STRONGER, WAS SOMETIMES SAID TO QUESTION OR DIFFUSE SOME OF THE CRUDER APPLICATIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN TO INTEGRATE PRODUCTION, RESEARCH AND EDUCATION. FOR EXAMPLE, ANDREI TOLD AMBASSADOR SHE IS MORE ACTION ORIENTED THAN MIZIL WHO TENDS TO HESITATE LEST THE MAKE MISTAKES.

5. NEW DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS. PRIME MINISTER'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET CONFIRMED FOLLOWING PORTFOLIO RESPONSIBILITIES FOR NEWLY APPOINTED DEPUTY PRIME MINISTERS;

A) IONITA - LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIAL AND CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS INVOLVING MILITARY LABOR OR DIRECTION SUCH AS BLACK SEA CANAL, PORT CONSTRUCTION, AND BUCHAREST METRO; TRANSPORT, PARTICULARLY AVIATION AND AIRCRAFT PROJECTS; NATIONAL ARMAMENT INDUSTRY, AND HEALTH, LATTER POSSIBLY BECAUSE OF CONNECTION WITH CIVIL DEFENSE AND WIDER CONFIDENTIAL

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MILITARY ROLE IN PUBLIC HEALTH SECTOR (I.E., REPORTED CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW LARGE MILITARY HEALTH INSTALLATION);

B) CIOARA - NATION-WIDE INVESTMENT POLICY. WE ARE UNABLE TO CONFIRM PREVIOUS REPORT (BUCHAREST 3550) THAT CIOARA WILL ALSO HELP OVERSEE COUNTRY'S ENERGY NEEDS.

WITHIN THESE SECTORS CIOARA AND IONITA WILL APPARENTLY ASSUME THE USUAL DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER'S ROLE OF SECTORAL COORDINATION, TROUBLE-SHOOTING, PLAN FULFILLMENT AND LONG-TERM RESOURCE ALLOCATION. BOTH HAVE THUS EXCHANGED CLEARLY-DEFINED FRONT-LINE INSTITUTIONAL POWER (AT BUCHAREST CITY HALL AND DEFMIN) FOR MUCH VAGUER, MORE DIFFUSE ROLES, EVEN THOUGH AT A THEORETICALLY HIGHER LEVEL. MUCH OF CIOARA'S AND IONITA'S PORTFOLIOS SEEM DRAWN FROM THAT PREVIOUSLY HELD ZT DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER EMIL DRAGANESCU, WHO, ACCORDING TO SEVERAL PARTY OFFICIALS, HAS SUFFERED A

SERIOUS HEART ATTACK, UNDERGONE HOSPITALIZATION, AND HAS NOT BEEN WORKING.

6. IONITA'S SHIFT MAY BE FREAK CASE WHERE ELECTION TO HIGHEST PARTY RANK (FULL MEMBER, POLEXCO) HAS MEANT DECREASE

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R 131100Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO: RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 8801

INFO: RUDKRB/AMEMBASSY BELGRADE 3606

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUCHAREST 4116

IN REAL POWER; "PROMOTION" IS IN ANY CASE CLOUDED. WE BELIEVE IONITA'S OUSTER AS DEFMIN WAS DECIDED IN LATE 1974 OR EARLY 1975 WHEN COMAN BECAME CHIEF OF STAFF AND SERIES OF CHANGES AT MINDEF WERE SET IN TRAIN. HARD EVIDENCE IS SCANTY; SOME BELIEVE "PERSONAL DIFFERENCES" WITH CEAUSESCU AROSE; DEMANDING AND GROWING MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN NATIONAL ECONOMY MAY HAVE BEEN POINT OF CONTROVERSY; FRENCH EMBASSY IS CONVINCED THAT IONITA OR MILITARY OFFICERS

HE SHIELDED WERE TOO COLL TOWARD OR OPPOSED CEAUSESCU'S
ABORTED NOMINATION AS RCP GENERAL SECRETARY FOR LIFE; MERE
FACT OF IONITA'S ENTRENCHED TENURE (DECADE AS ROMANIA'S
TOP MILITARY LEADER) MAY HAVE CHARACTERISTICALLY TRIGGERED
CEAUSESCU'S ITCH TO KEEP SUBORDINATE FROM CONSOLIDATING
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TOO VIABLE A POWER BASE. RUMOR-PLAGUED MILITARY ALERT
THIS JUNE, WHICH INDUCED A DAY OR SO OF PANIC-BUYING IN
BUCHAREST AND GOT CRITICISM EVEN AMONG CENTRAL COMMITTEE
MEMBERS, MIGHT HAVE BEEN CONTRIBUTORY NEAR-TERM PRETEXT
BUT NOT BASIC CAUSE. SOVIET DISCONTENT OVER ROMANIA'S
ATTITUDE TOWARD PACT MILITARY PREPAREDNESS WAS PROBABLY NOT
MAJOR ELEMENT IN DECISION, ALTHOUGH CEAUSESCU MAY HAVE
FOUND IT POLITIC TO HINT THIS WAY TO THE SOVIETS AT TIME
WHEN BOTH SOVIETS AND RCP SEEM WONT TO PUT BETTER FACE
ON RELATIONS. IONITA'S STRONGLY PATRIOTIC ROMANIA LIBERA
ARTICLE JUNE 14 SEEMED MEANT TO UNDERLINE FACT FOREIGN
POLICY WAS NOT CAUSE FOR SHIFT. IN THE EVENT, CEAUSESCU
HAS SUCCEEDED P INSTALLING AT DEFMIN GENERAL COMAN-- A
MORE ADROIT "POLITICIAN" MORE "MANEUVERABLE" AND CLOSELY
ATTUNED PERSONALLY TO CEAUSESCU -- WHILE SAVING IONITA'S
FACE AND THAT OF HIS CONSTITUENCY, GIVING HIM COORDINATION
OF UNQUESTIONABLY IMPORTANT SECTORS, YET SPREADING HIM
VERY THIN WITHOUT PREVIOUSLY FIRM GRIP ON DEFINITE
INSTITUTION.

7. SIMILARLY, CIOARA'S NEW JOB IS A QUESTIONABLE PROMOTION
AFTER VERY MIXED RECORD IN BUCHAREST. HE REPORTEDLY STILL
HAS SERIOUS HEALTH PROBLEMS WHICH MAY HAVE PROVIDED RETIONALE
FOR REMOVAL FROM PRESSURE-PACKED BUCHAREST SPOT (WHICH IS
EQUIVALENT TO ROMANIA'S LARGEST JUDET). AGRICULTURAL
MINISHOR MICULZTCU TOUCHED ANOTHER MOTIVE WHEN HE
COMMENTED TO AMBASSADOR RECENTLY THAT ION DINCA, CIOARA'S
SUCCESSOR AS MAYOR, WAS CHOSEN BECAUSE OF HIS ABILITY TO
"WORK WITH PEOPLE," A TALENT THE DEMANDING, UNPOPULAR
CIOARA QUITE CLEARLY LACKED. BUCHAREST'S TWO HIGHEST
OFFICIALS NOW ARE GENERALS, AND EVEN MORE ANOMALOUSLY,
DINCA'S DEPUTY, FADING FORMER COS ION GHEORGHE, OUTRANKS
HIM MILITARILY.

8. MIZIL AND CONSUMER GOODS. COUNCIL FOR COORDINATION
FO CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION, ESTABLISHED AT JUNE 1 POLEXCO
SESSION AND NOW HEADED BY PAUL NICULESCU-MIZIL (WHO
APPARENTLY RETAINS EDUCATIONAL PORTFOLIO AT DEPUTY PRIME
MINISTER LEVEL EVEN THOUGH REPLACED AS MINISTER), IS
REFLECTION OF GESTURES TOWARD CONSUMER-GOODS SECTOR IN
LAST FEW MONTHS. (COMMENT: ROMANIAN PRESS HAS STRIKINGLY
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MADE NO MENTION WHATSOEVER OF RISKENT POLISH DIFFICULTIES IN THIS REGARD.) MIZIL'S NEW COUNCIL IS SAID TO HAVE BROAD MANDATE WHICH EXTENDS BEYOND TRADITIONAL CONSUMER-GOODS SECTOR AND INCLUDES SUCH THINGS AS IMPROVED HOUSING AND EDUCATION. PRIME MINISTER MANESCU TOLD THE AMBASSADOR THAT NEW COUNCIL, UNLIKE SOME ANALOGOUS BODIES, WILL INDEED POSSESS AUTHORITY TO MAKE MEANINGFUL DECISIONS RELATING TO PRODUCTION AND ALLOCATION OF CONSUMER GOODS. NEVERTHELESS, CEAUSESCU BLUNTLY TOLD JULY 2 JOINT SESSION OF RCP CC AND SUPREME COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT THAT IF ROMANIANS WISHED TO ENJOY LIVING STANDARDS OF MORE ADVANCED COUNTRIES, CHANGE COULD COME ABOUT ONLY THROUGH INCREASED PRODUCTIVITY, NOT ADDITIONAL INVESTMENT.

9. MIZIL WILL APPARENTLY HAVE SMALL SECRETARIAT TO DRAW ON AS WELL AS DEPUTY MINISTER IN EACH OF THE RELEVANT MINISTRIES WHO WILL SIT ON THE COUNCIL. IN ADDITION THE COUNCIL WILL TAKE OVER COORDINATION OF INTER-JUDET TRADE. HOWEVER, MIZIL'S NEW JOB PLACES HIM IN EVEN MORE EXPOSED AND VULNERABLE POSITION THAN WHEN HEADING THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. HOW EXPOSED WILL BECOME CLEARER WHENEVER CEAUSESCU UNVEILS HIS PROMISED "SPECIAL PROGRAMS" IN CONSUMER FIELD. MIZIL, WHOSE FORMER CAREER LAY LARGELY IN IDDOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, HAS HAD LITTLE CONNECTION WITH ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT, AND THERE IS LITTLE QUESTION THAT CEAUSESCU HAS MANEUVERED HIM EVEN FARTHER TO WARD THE PERIPHERY. (MOREOVER, WE RECALL THAT VIRGIL TROFIN, BEFORE BEING BROKEN TO BRASOV, WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE THEN CONSUMER SUPPLY COUNCIL.)

10. AGRICULTURAL SECTOR. DASCALESCU'S ELEVATION TO PARTY SECRETARY FOR AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES (CAP) IS ALS INDICATIVE OF CONTINUED EFFORTS TO FIND INSTITUTIONAL SOLUTIONS TO BASIC STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS, ALTHOUGH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN SOME AREAS OF AGRICULTURE, INVESTMENTS HAVE RISEN BEYOND ORIGINAL GUIDELINES, MECHANIZATION IS ON INCREASE, WAGE SYSTEM (ACCORDAL GLOBAL) BASED ON CERTAIN INCENTIVES HAS BEEN INTRODUCED IN CAP'S, AND NOW EXPANDED ORGANIZATIONAL DRIVE TO INCREASE PARTY CONTROL IS UNDERWAY, REFLECTED IN REVERSION TO OLD SYSTEM OF PARTY SECRETARIES FOR AGRICULTURE AT NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS. OFFICIALS

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OF NATIONAL UNION OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR PLEASURE AT DASCALESCU APPOINTMENT. THEY BELIEVE IT SIGNALS REVERSE OF PAST UNDER-REPRESENTATION OF CAP'

AT LEADERSHIP LEVEL. NEVERTHELESS, DASCULESCU, WHO SOVIETS
HERE SAY IS A QUICK AND DECISIVE EXECUTIVE, WILL HAVE HIS
WORK CUT OUT FOR HIM IN ATTEMPTING TO DYNAMIZE THIS
CHRONICALLY LAGGARD SECTOR OF THE ROMANIAN ECONOMY.

11. COMMENT: PERSONNEL SHIFTS SEEM TO HAVE REINFORCED
BOTH PARTY LINE AND CEAUSESCU'S AUTHORITY, E.G., AT
MINISTERIAL LEVEL BY REPLACING TOO ENTRENCHED (IONITA)
OR STILL PRESTIGIOUS IF BROKEN LEADERS (MIZIL) BY THOSE
SEEMINGLY MORE RESPONSIVE. IN ADDITION, CEAUSESCU'S
OWN HEAD OF CHANCERY HAS BEEN ELEVATED TO RANK OF PARTY
SECRETARY. OF MORE POTENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE ARE CHANGES
INVOLVING AGRICULTURAL AND CONSUMER GOODS WHICH
REFLECT INCREASED PREOCCUPATION WITH THESE LONGNEGLECTED
SECTORS. HOWEVER, BECAUSE CEAUSESCU HAS YET TO UNVEIL
HIS MUCH PUBLICIZED "SPECIAL PROGRAMS" IN THIS REGARD
IT IS NOT YET APPARENT WHETHER HE IS WILLING TO MOVE BEYOND
MERE ORGANIZATIONAL PALLIATIVES OF THE PAST.

12. DESPITE
PERIODIC RESHUFFLES IN RCP SECRETARIAT AND GOVERNMENT
IN 1970'S, RCP POLEXCO HAS SHOWN CONSIDERABLY MORE
STABILITY. CEAUSESCU PRESUMABLY HAS LET IT MORE OR LESS
ALONG WHILE REINFORCING HIS PERSONLIST RULE AT MORE
OPERATIONAL LEVELS AND (IN 1974) ABOLISHING THE
PERMANENT PRESIDUM, TRADITIONALLY CENTER OF COLLECTIVE
LEADERSHIP AND PEER REVIEW IN COMMUNIST SYSTEMS.
POLEXCO IS THUS OVERRIPE FOR EXITS, AND WHEN NEXT
CADRES FLURRY OCCURS, WE MAY SEE SOME HOUSECLEANING.
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